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ABSTRACT

The scattered reservation segments of a single U.S. or Canadian Indian tribe have often culturally diverged from one another in recent historical times. This divergence is particularly marked in more urban regions, such as California, and among tribes where some of the reservations are near cities. As tribalism has become less important and urban adaptation more important, cities have a differential impact for change according to their distance from the various Indian communities. The most distant reservations tend to be abandoned, to survive as retirement communities, or to turn to a conservative, low-cost-of-living and welfare-dependent adaptation. Reservations closest to the cities tend to develop a pattern wherein residents commute to jobs in the city; these reservations are characterized by population increase and a new sophistication in working with modern bureaucratic politics.
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**CULTURAL DIVERGENCE RELATED TO URBAN PROXIMITY
ON AMERICAN INDIAN RESERVATIONS**

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SUMMARY

The scattered reservation segments of a single U.S. or Canadian Indian tribe have often culturally diverged from each other in recent historical times. This divergence is particularly marked in more urban regions, such as California, and among tribes where some of the reservations are near cities. As tribalism has become less important and urban adaptation more important, cities have a differential impact for change according to their distance from the various Indian communities. The most distant reservations tend to be abandoned, to survive as retirement communities, or to turn to a conservative, low cost of living and welfare-dependent adaptation. Those reservations closest to the cities tend to develop a pattern of commuting to jobs in the city, population increase, and a new sophistication in working with modern bureaucratic politics.

INTRODUCTION

One recent feature in the complex history of U.S. and Canadian Indian communities is the emergence of marked differences among the various communities of a single tribe, a divergence of geographically separated segments of the culture. That is, particular Indian societies were often allocated more than one reservation, rancheria, colony, or other type of land held in trust by the federal government. Those local segments of the Indian society had a relatively homogenous culture when they began reservation life. Then, under common federal policies, state laws, and other influences they generally evolved in the same way, until recently.

In brief visits to the Uintah-Ouray, Ute Mountain, and Southern Ute reservations the differences seemed only moderate to me. Perhaps their relative wealth from a general Ute land claim case and tribal income from oil and gas discoveries on the Ute Mountain Reservation had slowed their divergence. However, some parts of these large reservations still prospered more than others. Thus, the tribal centers at Fort Duchesne and Ignacio were small modern towns while in the rural outback people lived in quite a different way.

Among the Navaho there is wide cultural divergence between such regions as Navaho Mountain and Window Rock. The latter area has a sizable town with close ties to Gallup, New Mexico. Zuni, also close to Gallup, is much more urbanized than the Hopi pueblos, a comparable society. Some of the outlying Rio Grande pueblos are being abandoned, others are continuing a somewhat traditional agrarian life, and those close to urban areas, such as Taos to the north and Sandia and Isleta to the south, are prospering as exurban bedroom communities.

In California in 1962 sixteen reservations for which the government still had trust relations had no Indians living on them (California State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs 1966: 58). At the same time in California twenty-seven reservations had had their U.S. land trusteeship terminated and seventeen more were in the process of termination. Many of these involved fairly small

plots of land, usually less than 200 acres. However, there were a few large ones, such as Capitan Grande with 15,636 acres, that were not terminated and had no Indians living on them. There were also 86 reservations with some Indian population, 45 with forty or more people. This tendency for some reservations to be abandoned while others prospered has continued.

The continued viability of many U.S. reservations is clear, reflected in terms of area and population. Tribal lands total almost forty million acres (nearly one half of it in Arizona) and there is an additional twelve million acres allotted individually to Indians (Brandon 1961, Josephy 1968). The Indian and Eskimo population in the U.S. is now about 650,000, and roughly half of them live on or near reservations. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) still has some jurisdiction over more than 250 separate Indian land units (reservations, pueblos, rancherias, colonies, and communities and 35 groups of scattered public-domain allotments and other off-reservation lands). The B.I.A. also has some service relationships with 147 Alaskan Native communities and native-owned town lots in Alaska.

A rural-urban model can account for much of this divergence, but for a complete explanation one must also consider features such as differences in economic viability and the differential impact of government and missionary programs on the various reservations. However, this paper will focus just on the relationship between cultural divergence and urban proximity. Cases of the Washo and Luiseno reservations are presented in detail because they both have communities that have been strongly influenced by urban proximity and they illustrate two somewhat different forms of cultural divergence.

The closer a reservation is to a city the more it tends to be drawn into the economic, political, religious and other affairs of that city and of national urban society generally. One crucial element of attraction to the city is the availability of much better paying jobs in the city than on the reservation. This attraction draws people away from every reservation but it is currently having more impact in the highly urbanized regions, such as California. Thus, when the attraction of city jobs and city life is great, we find Indians

abandoning the most rural and isolated reservations or parts of larger reservations. Urban things, such as electricity, piped water, and markets, have become too important to live without. However, the cost of living is less on the reservation and the reservation provides an emotionally satisfying personal community that is usually lacking in the city. Thus, in addition to the pattern of permanent migration into the city, Indians often commute between the city and the reservation. Some of this "commuting" is just on weekends or vacations, but the pattern of visiting back and forth is extremely important. When reservations are close enough for easy commuting to city jobs they tend to expand in population.

In small towns and cities Indians tend to be isolated, segregated, and held in a static social and economic position. Whites rarely ever know much about Indian life, but this is true even in small towns with a nearby Indian reservation. For example, few whites in Gardnerville, Nevada, have ever been to the adjacent Washo Indian colony of Dresslerville, even though many Indians locally work as maids and ranch hands in the homes of whites. Indians, on the other hand, tend to resist the visits of whites who might be critical of their way of life. The security that the reservation provides is protected by building social barriers against the intrusion of outsiders. Both the Washo and Luiseno Indians have small reservations scattered around white towns and farms, but reciprocal social barriers have tended to keep the populations separate. Thus, social distance can have some of the same isolating effects as geographical distance. These lines of segregation, that diminish the cultural influence of whites and Indians on each other, tend to break down in the larger cities. Indians in the large cities are much more diffused among whites and tend to align with other Indians in kinship-friendship networks and voluntary associations, rather than in residential communities. The reservation is the setting for a personally significant, residential community. The city is a socially heterogeneous place to work. The Indian thus often "commutes" between the two.

A Canadian survey (Hawthorn 1966: 107) examined the hypothesis that relative urban proximity influenced the various Indian bands. Economically expressed, the hypothesis is that greater proximity leads to greater culture contact, which leads to more white influenced consumer tastes and wants for which money is necessary, which in turn induces Indians to seek and hold better paying jobs and to accumulate their material resources more effectively. Urban migration or commuting is also linked to this since the better paying and more stable jobs tend to be in the cities. They found only a low correlation between urban proximity and economic prosperity for the bands, except at the extremes. The more isolated northern bands and isolated rural bands in the Prairies are among the least developed while most of the economically well developed bands are near cities. However, there were many exceptions, particularly on the urban side with some economically depressed bands near white towns and cities.

The Canadian report (p. 108) suggests that "Modern improvements in transportation and communication have tended to reduce the importance of physical distance, or proximity, as factors determining the frequency or intensity of contact and demonstration effect. . . . The main distance facing most Indians and the main barriers that prevent them functioning effectively in the national economy are essentially social rather than physical in character." Also, Indians frequently integrate with white society at the level of the urban poor where "consumer goods, education and higher status do not function as economically motivating forces." They "thus tend to perpetuate low subsistence standards that have grown up in reserve life."

The Canadian study included a special analysis of a representative sample of thirty-five bands (p. 136). These were classified into three broad types: developed, transitional, and depressed. The developed bands had a good employment situation, tended to be in or near large metropolitan areas and industrial towns and cities, and had a high level of mobility "in terms of the proportion of band members willing or able to reside away from their reserves for extended periods or permanently." Two more minor factors associated with "developed" bands were ownership of or accessibility to resources (such as logging or commercial fishing operations) and a tendency for a higher degree of social

organization and participation on the reserve.

In reference to the last factor (p. 137), "the highly urbanized bands appear to have a relatively low degree of internal organization,...perhaps because band members tend to participate more in outside, non-reserve activities and organizations."

Finally, this study makes the same suggestion, that the larger cities provide certain advantages over the small towns and cities (p. 142). "Large metropolitan centres are cosmopolitan and multi-racial or multi-ethnic in composition and more tolerant of deviant behaviour or physical or cultural differences than are small or medium-sized towns. The criteria of employability are more likely to be the objective ones of formal training and measurable efficiency rather than family or racial background. On these grounds, then, it could be argued that Indians could be absorbed into employment in larger numbers and would find the adjustment to urban living easier in large metropolitan centres than in small towns."

I have selected the Washo and the Luiseno as case studies of cultural divergence. I did basic field work among the Washo in the summers of 1962 and 1963; among the Luiseno, with a team of eight graduate students from the University of California at Los Angeles, in 1965. I occasionally revisited both societies, particularly for another look at the more urbanized reservations of Pala and Reno-Sparks in 1969.

WASHO

The traditional communities, where there are several old people who still speak the Washo language, are the most isolated from urban influences: Woodfords in California and Dresslerville in Nevada. The other major Washo colonies at Carson City and Reno have been surrounded by the expanding growth of those cities. They have become Indian reservations within cities. The Washo of Carson and Reno have essentially moved into the skilled trades of the city, lost most of the distinctively Washo elements of their culture, and acquired a new pan-Indian (Nevada focused) identity.

The rural Washo colonies are also involved in pan-Indianism, but it tends to be of an earlier time level. Thus, pan-Indian religious Peyotism (formally now the Native American Church) was introduced to the Washo essentially in the 1930's, flourished briefly at both Dresslerville and Woodfords, and since then has survived only at Woodfords, the most rural colony. Reno, the most urban colony, never converted to Peyotism.

In his study of Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism, Steward (1955:96) documents how "Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception." It is also insightful to understand the influence of certain men, such as Roy James, with their particular networks of alliances on the long persistence of Peyotism at Woodfords, while the cult died out elsewhere. Still, Peyotism never flourished in urban settings. In fact, in the early 1960's cult members came all the way from San Francisco to participate in the Woodfords ceremonies because they could not get a good Peyote Church going there, although several thousand Indians lived in the San Francisco Bay area at the time. Later on, we never found an active Peyote Church in our survey of Indians in Los Angeles in 1966 (Price 1968), although I knew local Indians who had been Peyotists on their home reservations. The point here is simply that the rural-urban continuum applies to the forms of pan-Indianism that are important on the various reservations, in part because rural is correlated with traditional and urban is correlated with modern activities. In the 1970's customs that were introduced in the 1930's can be "traditional" in reservation life, as well as generally in North America.

The Washo were historically contacted very late by whites, essentially in the California gold rush days after 1849 (Price 1962:11). This late contact favoured their survival as a people and a culture. However, they were a small, passive, and ignored tribe who never received a reservation in the usual sense. They (528 individuals) received a large allotment (62,713 acres) for pinenut collecting in the Pine Nut Hills, mostly in 1899 under the General Allotment Act of 1887. About thirty Washo families also received trust land in California especially in Alpine County.

With the unallotted tribal land each person on the tribal roll has an individual share of the whole for use. It is hard to lease unallotted land because the tribe as a whole and the B.I.A. must approve of the lease. Under the General Allotment Act the plots are individually owned and are not technically part of a reservation. However, they are still held in trust by the B.I.A. and cannot be leased or sold without B.I.A. permission. In the early 1900's small plots of the tribal land were also allotted to individuals, making them inheritable and, with B.I.A. permission, even saleable. Without a will, all of the descending relatives are entitled to a share of the property of allotted or homestead land. This has led to great confusion over time and pressed the B.I.A. into a monumental task of record keeping on the ownership of allotted property. Thus, for example, one small town lot in the Luiséño-Cupeño village of Pala has 32 legal owners. The Washo Pine Nut Reserve is leased to a grazing association, but it costs the B.I.A. more to administer the record keeping and payments on the land than the Indian owners actually receive in the lease.

These "Indian homesteads" under the Act of 1887 were usually 160 acres to heads of families, 80 acres to single persons over 18 years of age and orphan children under 18, and 40 acres to single persons under 18. Double allotments were given when the land was valuable only for grazing purposes. In 1891 this Act was amended to provide for an allotment of 80 acres of agricultural land and 160 acres of grazing land to each individual, regardless of age or marital status. In order to prevent the quick disposing of allotments, the federal government held the title in trust for 25 years or longer, the length of trust depending on the decision of the U.S. President. Indians who accepted allotments

were granted citizenship and made subject to state laws. A further act of 1924, following the valiant military service of Indians in World War I, granted citizenship to all Indians born in the U.S.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was given to the Washo tribe by a rancher, William F. Dressler, in trust with the U.S. government. In 1938 and 1940 three ranches (795 acres in all) were purchased adjacent to this Colony for the Washo under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. In addition, the Carson City Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940. The "Indian colonies" of Nevada seem to have been developed to eliminate Indian squatter camps at the town dumps and other urban fringe areas.

The Reno-Sparks Colony was formed in 1916 when the Washo and Northern Paiute living around Reno were given a twenty-acre plot outside the city limits, actually about mid-way between Reno and the railroad town of Sparks. The Indians today say that the site was arbitrarily moved much farther out of town than an original agreement called for and that the government refused to fulfill its initial agreement to provide them lumber for new homes. Informally, ten of the acres were said to be for the Washo and ten for the Paiutes, but the people did not follow these guidelines in their building. In the 1920's, 8.8 acres were added to the Colony, in part for community buildings such as a one room school, a small church, and eventually a nurse's quarters. Only about a dozen families lived there in the beginning, but as Indians moved into the city from other parts of Nevada they tended to settle at the Colony because it provided free land on which to build a house. The Colony size increased to 375 people in 1955 and then to 537 in 1969: 65% identifying themselves as Paiute, 28% as Washo, and 7% as having other ethnic backgrounds. Now it is a relatively impersonal urban settlement, not a tight-knit community. People now may not know their neighbors a few houses away.

Jurisdictional disputes between federal and local agencies slowed the development of public services such as piped water, a sewer system, and pavement of the roads. The Reno Indians themselves thwarted the development of a major paved road through their community and topped that action off by building

a park and children's playground in the center of the Colony, where the engineers had planned the road to go.

Based on aboriginal and historical differences, one might assume that the Reno Colony would split into Washo and Paiute factions. The two languages are completely unrelated, Washo belonging to the Hokan language phylum and Paiute to the Shoshonean family of the Aztec-Tanoan phylum. Prehistorically, Shoshonean peoples probably displaced Hokan peoples from a large part of the Great Basin, leaving the Washo as a small remnant group hanging on to the rich Lake Tahoe Basin and its adjacent valleys to the east (Price 1963:40). Historically, we know of low level feuding between the Washo and Paiutes. Now, however, all of that seems to have been forgotten. Within the Reno Colony, tribal background seems to make almost no difference and pan-Indian political sentiment is strong. The Reno Colony has even become the center of the statewide Nevada Inter-Tribal Council, with a Washo Indian as its director. Nor do the whites of Reno seem to even have stereotypes that differ significantly for the three main tribal groups of Nevada. In a general community study of Reno in 1969 (Price 1970) we included Shoshoni and Washo Indians in an "ethnic distance scale" that was completed by 386 household heads and people did not distinguish between the two. The average level of social acceptance of Indians was above Hippies, Negroes, Hindus, and Cubans; about the same as Chinese; and below such groups as Mexicans, Jews and Basque. They often did not know what the Inter-Tribal Council was, but still tended to express more trust in it than the Regional Planning Commission, the City Council, and the City Mayor.

In the above project, Linda Watkins studied Indian leadership in the Reno-Sparks Colony. She found that the Tribal Council members tended to be young, better educated, and with more experience outside of Indian communities than the other Indians generally within the Colony. There was a feeling of social distance between the leaders and the rest of the community, but still a recognition that the leaders were the most competent to deal with whites. Problems within the Colony were being worked out in such practical terms as acquiring federal support for a twenty unit self-help housing program, negotiating for

increased police protection, and campaigning for educational improvements. Individual complaints of employment discrimination, unfair treatment by school teachers, and inequalities by public officials are often actively handled by the Reno Colony leaders directly, rather than going through the local Race Relations Commission. Construction work is the most common occupation in the Colony and it pays enough to give the Colony a fairly good economic base, along with welfare receipts.

The more rural Washo Reservations also are working to solve their problems, but they lack the expertise of the Reno Colony in dealing with government agencies. Their economic base is poor, largely seasonal wage work on ranches for the men and work as domestic servants for the women. And they are not organized politically to deal effectively with discrimination and segregation.

For example, the city of Gardnerville has recently been expanding its suburbs so far that a new upper middle class housing subdivision was built right up to the Dresslerville Colony, which originally relocated Indians way on the outskirts of the town as at Carson City and Reno. The whites managed to plan the roads in such a way that there are no roads from the new subdivision into Dresslerville. Instead, you have to drive into town first to get from one place to the other. This, of course, perpetuates the traditional segregation of the Indians. The city of Elko, Nevada, planned a similar kind of segregation by routing a new freeway between its outlying Shoshoni Colony and the rest of the city.

Locally, the Dresslerville Indians have been patronized and protected by the old ranching families of Douglas County for nearly a century now. However, a strong segregation was also maintained between Indians and whites. By regularly arresting certain Indians for public drunkenness, it appears that the Douglas County government has maintained a changing staff of Washo Indian jail trustees for civic menial labor. This is rationalized by saying, "At least they can sober up and get good meals in the jail."

Scotch and Scotch (1963:72) studied hypertension among the Washo. "Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

They did find significant correlations of hypertension with older age, male sex, obesity, attendance of schools in a white community, alcoholism, and Christian or no religion as opposed to low hypertension among Peyotists. That is, slim girls from Peyotist families in Woodfords are under very little stress.

The Scotchs (p.74) commented on the relationship between hypertension and attending white schools. "Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. ...The principal corroborated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children."

I heard the same kind of complaints about teachers' attitudes toward Reno Colony Indian students in 1969, but the Indians there were actively opposing the situation rather than just dropping out of school. Discrimination and segregation tend to be a more decisive influence around small towns and rural reservations than in the urban setting.

LUISEÑO

The Indian reservations of California tend to be smaller and more numerous than in other Western states. They lie primarily in a northwest cluster in Mendocino and Humboldt counties, a southwest cluster in Riverside and San Diego counties, and a third zone of scattered reservations in the central and north-eastern part of the state. In aboriginal times the approximately 133,000 Indians of California were, with the exception of certain mountainous and desert portions rather evenly distributed over the state. They were then in effect drawn to the coast by the Spanish missions and then assimilated or pushed back for many miles from the coast by the American settlement.

The eight reservations of the Luiseno are scattered in an area in northern San Diego County around the upper half of the San Luis Rey River. Mount Palomar (with its astronomical observatory) is the most famous mountain of the region. In 1962-63 the Bureau of Indian Affairs surveyed these reservations for area and population (State Advisory Commission on Indian Affairs 1966:57). The three with the largest population were Pala - 6,512 acres plus 1,286 acres allotted, 160 Indian people within the reservation and 55 adjacent; Rincon - 3,319 acres plus 380 acres allotted, 100 people within and 65 adjacent; and La Jolla - 7,588 acres plus 694 acres allotted, 36 people within and 40 adjacent. Since 1962 the tendency has been for the population on or adjacent to the several Luiseno reservations to decline, except for Pala which increased. Thus, in 1965 we surveyed the three Luiseno reservations with the largest population and found nineteen fewer living within La Jolla, ten fewer within Rincon, and 125 more living within Pala. The Pala figure includes some non-Indians who have married into the community.

The Luiseno reservations took shape primarily between 1870 and 1892 after a long history of contact with whites, beginning with the Spanish missions. The mission period lasted from 1769 to 1834, when the Secularization Act of the Mexican Congress was implemented. Disease and other factors decimated the coastal population of the Luiseno under intensive contact with the whites, but a few groups survived in the highlands and those are the ancestors of the contemporary Luiseno.

The Mission San Antonio de Pala was built at the Indian village of Pala ("water" in Luisēño) at the foot of Mount Palomar in 1816 as an assistencia, a chapel for those who lived too far to be served by the regular mission, in this case the mission of San Luis Rey de Francia. The Luisēño were given their name from the latter coastal mission and have no other generic name for themselves, except Mission Indians, which includes several other tribes. An estimated 1,300 Indians were to be served by the original mission at Pala, but no resident priest was established there until after 1903. The Spanish treated the Indians as peasant citizens if they were Hispanicized. The U.S. first treated Indians as dependent nations of people and sent commissioners to make binding treaties when there were troubles. The original treaties with the Luisēño were never ratified. After 1834 the missions were taken out of the hands of the church and were privately administered, to the detriment of the Indians. Then in 1875 the U.S. President, Ulysses S. Grant, established such reservations as Pala, Rincon, and La Jolla by executive order, after public opinion had been aroused in favor of the Indians by two books by Helen Hunt Jackson, Ramona and Century of Dishonor. Parts were added or taken away in later years. From 1891 to 1893 various actions gave trust patents of their land to the Indian bands.

In 1902-1903 the last band of Cupēño Indians, who had been living at Warner's Hot Springs, were relocated into Pala. At the same time a small group of Diegueño from San Felipe were brought in to Pala. Additional acreage was added to the Pala reservation for houses and agricultural lands and the adjacent Mission Reserve of 8,000 mountainous acres was created for acorn gathering, fuel wood, and as a stock range. Some permanent buildings were erected as living quarters for the new arrivals. A small school, a health clinic, an Indian Agency office, and roads were built. There was a small police force and a jail. This community around the old Mission was supervised by the Indian Agency officials who lived there.

Part of the Indian Agency's task was to teach the Indians self-government and to prepare them for a "transition" to integration with the wider society. The people of Pala today say the Agency failed in that. "It could not help us. They did not even want us to mix with other people." The Indian Agency

discontinued its services in Pala several years ago and further administration responsibilities (essentially just land trusteeship now) were transferred to the area office in Riverside, California.

The San Felipe Diegueño merged in time with the Cupeno and many of the Luiseno left Pala, leaving the Cupeno as the dominant population. The presence of two identifiable groups, each living in its own part of Pala, has been the basis of continuing contention and one of the factional splits within Pala for sixty-eight years. The few Luiseno left still speak of the "Warner Springs people" as "the newcomers." At the same time many Mexicans and Anglos have married into the community. Inter-marriage between the Luiseno from all the reservations and others has reduced the number of full blooded Luiseno to about twenty.

A few Luiseno still speak the old language in certain social contacts. However, all the Luiseno speak English and about one-third can speak some Spanish. In fact, Spanish is used for most foods in Luiseno, except for acorn dishes. Parts of the house and furniture are also given in Spanish. Many Spanish words were modified as they were incorporated into Luiseno: tiendik from tienda for "store," sayeeta from silla for "chair," and virhol from friholes for "beans." In 1965 we found that only ten people could carry on a full conversation in Luiseno while 63 additional people understood some of the language. There were also five people who could converse freely in Cupeno.

Some of the religion has been retained, especially the clothes burning rites related to funerals. Peon hand games are still played at festivals, with teams of Indians from other areas such as Cahuilla or Diegueño. Acorn dumplings are still occasionally made and a few old women still remember how to make the traditional basketry.

While the Luiseno culture is integrated, it has been heavily influenced by Southern Californian culture, with its Spanish-Mexican elements, and modern pan-Indianism, particularly a local, reservation-based Mission Indian variety. In terms of contemporary residence, the Luiseno are scattered widely in the area. Of the 958 persons on the rolls of the La Jolla, Rincon, and Pala reservations

in 1963, only 34% lived on their reservation: 45% at Pala, 26% at Rincon, and 21% at La Jolla. By 1965, the proportion of enrolled members living at La Jolla had dropped to only 8%, with the average age of the seventeen old people left residing on the reservation about 60 years. La Jolla became a retirement community.

The Luiseno reservations were deemed ready to receive individual allotments of the tribal land in 1916 but, because of opposition toward accepting them, none were issued until 1928 and then only a few accepted them. Accepting an allotment implied a short term individual advantage, loss of tribal unity, and possibly the loss of a right to share in later tribal advantages, such as the lands that would be given back to the Indians if the early treaties were ever upheld. After 1916, the federal government began to treat Indians more as individuals, rather than as groups. In the Luiseno case, this individualism and the split between those who accepted allotments and those who refused them, fomented social factionalism on the reservations. The most important attempt to deal with the government and with the chaotic reservation politics in Southern California was the organization of a Mission Indian Federation in 1919. The Indian Agency had been the formal government on the reservations since the 1870's while each band still had its own traditional and informal religious and political leaders. The Agency had hired local Indians to act as policemen on all the larger reservations, which led to conflicts between the formal and informal leaders.

The Federation was formed by Jonathan Tibbett, a white, and Joe Peet, an Indian who claimed to be the "headman" for several reservations. While there were general revivalist elements, its main purpose was to break the B.I.A. control of the reservations. At first it was a rather positive protest organization that laid the groundwork for organizing the reservations, but had little effect on B.I.A. policy. Then by 1929, it had evolved into a politically active and militant force. Purl Willis, a white lawyer, who was hired to carry out several claims for land and water rights, from the unratified treaties of 1851-1852, continued to play a major role in the organization from this time on for the next 36 years. The Federation established The Indian: The Magazine of the

Mission Indian Federation in 1931. It formalized the informal leaders in thirty-seven reservations and other communities. Thus, for example, representatives were recognized from both the Luisenõ ("Old Pala") and Cupenõ ("Pala") tribes at Pala. It established a police force in opposition to the B.I.A.'s.

The following is from a statement on the history of the Federation by its major directors (Castillo and Willis 1934:14-15). The traditional tribal organizations were organized as a Federation in 1919. "Immediately there arose the strongest opposition of the local Superintendent of the Mission Indians, and with the power of his self-appointed policeman and other employees, persecution of those Indian leaders...was doubled. The destructive Allotment laws were later brought in to use on certain reservations where the Federation appeared strongest. Many leaders were indicted under false and misleading charges...they requested the removal or transfer of a former Superintendent, which was done...the present attitude of the new superintendent...is more arrogant and intimidating than that of his predecessor."

The Federation opposed individual allotments because that would tend to disintegrate the tribes. It opposed the imposition of B.I.A. officials who were responsible to the federal government rather than to the Indians. And it was opposed to the Indian Reorganization Act, which was actually designed to make the Indian lands more self-governing, precisely what the Federation was asking for. It opposed special Indian courts because this would "remove their rights as citizens of the United States." It was in favor of breaking "away from control of the Indian Bureau and to have the rights of free citizenship such as are given all other citizens of the nation, and not to be under the domination of a special Bureau." The Reorganization Act was seen as proposing to use the Indians as subjects in "experiments in communalistic living," which "might work for Arizona and New Mexico Indians, but would not apply well to the Indians of Montana, Oregon, and California."

After 1934 the B.I.A. pushed the autonomy of bands or tribes with elected leaders and charters. The most common pattern was an annual election of five members, one of whom was elected to serve as the chairman or spokesman. These

elections were supervised by the B.I.A. from 1934 to 1950, when the Bureau relaxed its efforts to oversee reservation politics and shifted to a policy for several years that the B.I.A. should be phased out and the special relationship of Indians with the government should be terminated. This was precisely what the Mission-Indian Federation had been asking for in the 1930's, but it gradually became an unpopular position in the 1950's. Increasingly Indians began to call for a continuation of their special relationship with the government. Still, the Federation dominated reservation politics from 1929 to 1963. In 1963 the Federation split into two factions, over the proposal to replace Willis with a new lawyer, eventually going to court where it was decided to divide the money in the treasury (\$600) among the rival factions. Now only the old people on the La Jolla reservation seem to be still fighting the Federation's causes.

Today the Mission complex is the center of Pala. It has a chapel, an elementary school, a small museum, and an old cemetery. The adobe walls have turned grey with age and the wood has darkened. The early nineteenth century architecture, with its great tree trunk rafters, has been preserved. In front of the Mission is a dirt plaza with low stone walls where children play and several men often sit and talk, until they decide to "make a run," usually to drive somewhere to buy wine.

Near the plaza is the post office, a gas station, and a store. Surrounding this central area are short streets of small, mostly wooden houses. Some of the houses date back to the 1903 settlement of the Cupeno. Many other houses were brought in from Linda Vista after World War II when a military installation there wanted to get rid of them and gave them away. Some of these houses were never placed on cement foundations or ever given utilities such as running water or indoor toilets.

The Mission school runs from kindergarten through the eighth grade and is staffed primarily by four nuns and a lay teacher. It usually has about 165 students from the general area: 42% Indians, 30% Mexicans, and 28% Anglos. There is a high drop out rate among the Indian students. The teachers say that the Indians lack an educationally stimulating home environment, they lack a

place to study at home, they are reticent to speak out or compete in class, and they are apathetic about education as a solution to their future problems. Still the average years of education among Luiseno adults is not low. It is down to only seven years for the old people at La Jolla but averages around ten to eleven years on the other reservations. A survey of Southern California's Indians in colleges (only one person was at a "university") in 1966 found seven from Rincon, two from La Jolla, and two from Pala (Jennings 1966:4), reflecting the more modern and urban orientation of those on the Rincon tribal roll.

The Catholic religion has been a part of Luiseno religious life for over two hundred years, but there are still lingering traditional religious practices and there has developed a relatively recent dominant Catholic-minority Protestant split among the Luiseno. Traditional practices center today around an annual "clothes burning ceremony," for the deceased of the previous year. These practices were "purged" from Pala years ago, but continue at Rincon and La Jolla. Protestant religions were introduced by itinerant missionaries in the early 1900's and today two sects have a moderate following, the Church of the Nazarene in La Jolla and the Assembly of God in Rincon. Some Protestant converts have moved out of Pala, they say because of a priest's refusal to recognize a divorce or a marriage or a refusal to bury someone for religious reasons. There is also an indication in these cases that the Protestant families became socially isolated before they ever moved. The priests say they have been tolerant of traditional beliefs, even performing Catholic rites at Indian wakes. Social isolation on the basis of religion is most severe at La Jolla, where the Catholics and the Nazarenes rarely talk to each other, even though there are only seventeen permanent residents on the reservation. One Catholic at La Jolla is also socially isolated from the other Catholics because he has maintained his position in an anti-Willis faction of the Mission Indian Federation over the last twenty years.

In the 1930's and 1940's Rincon and La Jolla prospered somewhat as agricultural areas. Then whites gradually moved in and established avocado and citrus orchards and other farms around the reservations. They dug wells and drew off river water until the San Luis Rey River went dry. Now every reservation has a

problem of insufficient irrigation water. In fact, many homes lack drinking water so that one often sees people carrying water when they visit friends or relatives without a well or piped water. People may visit the home of a relative to bathe, even in Pala.

At Pala one person raises squashes commercially and a Mexican leases land where he raises edible cactus. In Rincon a few residents raise vegetables for their own use and there are two small turkey farms and a commercial bee apiary on the reservation. La Jolla was once a flourishing agricultural area, with fruit and walnut trees and fields of vegetables. Although it is only several miles from Rincon, it is 1,600 feet higher in elevation so that frosts preclude citrus farming. After the 1940's the land fell into disuse, the roads were poorly graded, abandoned houses crumbled, and the water pipes rotted away.

A few people work on local farms, but most of the employed work at jobs in the towns and cities of San Diego County, especially Fallbrook, Escondido, Vista, Oceanside, and San Diego. About 70% of the Indians live off the reservation and mostly in these towns and cities. Older teenagers typically leave for work in the city. Over half of the household heads who live on the reservations are retired, on welfare, or just unemployed. The people who have stayed or returned to reside on the reservation have usually done so because reservation life is less expensive and has the social security of a personal community. Old people can afford to live on their pensions or welfare much better on the reservations. Several women in Pala moved with their children back to the reservation when their marriages broke up. Several men with chronic health or drinking problems find they can get along better living with relatives on the reservation than carrying on a lonely struggle in the city.

One researcher (Susan Lippe) said, "The average family in Pala appears to be a woman, several of her children, and possibly a few others such as nephews, cousins, and grandchildren." She maintained that the welfare system fosters a matrifocal family in Pala. Her data on Pala indicated that thirteen families, with a total of 130 child dependents, were receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children. A Pala man said, "We do not pay rent or taxes...With the children"

I have if I were to live in the big city I would never be able to make it." A Pala woman said, "We do what we want here. We cannot do that in cities. People pass you by as though you are a thing. Here we know each other and if we want to make a noise we can make it." A young woman left to attend college in Los Angeles and then returned to Pala. "When we go off to the big cities we rarely know anybody there. Everything is new and strange and we get lonesome and afraid. We come from a small town and a small school. Soon we get into difficulty...So, we end up coming home to our people. Here we know everybody, there is no need to be afraid."

People spend very little, \$26 a month average in Pala, or nothing on housing and grumble about an average \$6 a month electricity bill. Furniture is rarely ever thrown away. After many years of use in the house it is often moved out in the yard and used there in the summers. The house lots of Rincon and La Jolla are usually on lots that are larger than an acre, but in Pala the lots tend to be small and crowded together. The people of Rincon tend to have a few more possessions, but generally at Pala and Rincon all households have a refrigerator, radio, and electric iron; about three fourths have a television receiver, a sewing machine, a washing machine, and an automobile; one half have a telephone; and one fourth have a freezer. Around the reservation people spend little on clothing. Men usually wear denim work clothes and women typically wear cotton dresses. Children's clothes and maternity dresses are handed from one relative to the next. Most of the people drive or take a ride with a relative for shopping into Escondido, a city of about 40,000 people eighteen miles from Pala.

The main source of income for the reservations per se is from the lease or sale of land or other resources. Pala leases sand and gravel rights for \$1,000 a month plus a fee for each ton of gravel removed from the yard. Rincon has a similar agreement for the sale of gravel. Pala has two gem mines where semi-precious stones may be collected for a fee. Pala is planning on using the mountain land of the Mission Reserve for commercial recreation and Christmas tree farming in order to prevent the reversion of the reserve to public domain. La Jolla has been renting sites in its campground on the San Luis Rey River for

several years. Now the reservation is considering a thirty year lease arrangement with a Los Angeles firm to develop a resort at the campground. Pala is the richest reservation in terms of bank holdings, primarily from the sale of gravel. However, it is also the most politically inefficient.

Pala's government calls for a general membership council and an elected Executive Committee. A large number of people living at Pala are not on the reservation roll, because they are enrolled at other reservations or they are not even Indians. Major factions then divide the enrolled in terms of young and old, reinforce or dissolve tribalism, living on or off the reservation, and Cupeno or Luiseno. The young want to spend tribal money to make civic improvements, such as a community hall where children could participate in evening activities. The old want the money to be given directly to those enrolled. One faction led by an old woman who chairs the Executive Committee wants to dissolve the tribe to become part of San Diego County, and thus receive such benefits as a water system and a sewage system. This is a carryover from the assimilationist philosophy of the Federation. In 1965 the Pala Executive Committee was old (average age about 55) with four women and one man. At Rincon and La Jolla the tribal councils were predominantly men around thirty years of age, mostly living off their reservations. At Rincon three old men lost their leadership after the Federation split, and in 1965 were organizing an Indian Club to revive the old language, songs, and dances. In 1970 when a Luiseno language class was planned for Pala, it was a woman from Rincon who was called on to teach it. Community problems described for Pala, by rank order most to least commonly reported, were 1) the drinking and fighting of the men, 2) lack of recreational facilities for children, 3) lack of police protection, 4) lack of water and sewage systems, 5) lack of cooperation within Pala, 6) poor housing, and 7) "the broken promises of the government." These problems were usually seen as related to the chaotic politics of the community, particularly in terms of the expenditures of tribal money acquired from the sale of sand and gravel.

Changes at Rincon in 1970 and 1971 have verified our earlier hypotheses about their progressiveness. The Rincon Band recently renovated an abandoned shack for \$1,500 and, with the help of some State Health funds earmarked for

Indian projects, set up a free weekly dental clinic for Indians from reservations in San Diego County. The Rincon Band also arranged to have a manufacturing firm build a small plant on the reservation and lease the plant from the Band. The plant employs over twenty Indians, primarily from Pala, to manufacture low cost, prefabricated, fiberglass houses.

URBAN PROXIMITY AND CULTURAL DIVERGENCE

Of the major Washo communities, Woodfords is physically the farthest away from major towns and cities. Although it is composed of individually owned homestead lots, it did not break up. It is considered to be the most traditional Washo community because of the large number of people who still speak Washo, a few women still make baskets, and people still process acorns for food on special occasions in the old way with a mortar and pestle. Peyotism, an early twentieth century pan-Indian religious movement, still survives at Woodfords. The Luiseno community of La Jolla is comparable to Woodfords in several ways. La Jolla is also the farthest away from major towns or cities of the main Luiseno reservations. It is also considered to be the most traditional, simply because there are only old people left there. Although Peyotism was never important among the Luiseno, an early twentieth century pan-Indian political movement of the region, the Mission Indian Federation, survives more fully at La Jolla than any other reservation.

The intermediate reservations, Dresslerville and Rincon, also contain many traditional features in language use and ceremonies. The Washo girl's puberty ceremony survives more fully at Dresslerville and the Luiseno funeral rituals survive more fully at Rincon. The economic base of each has been agricultural wage work for whites, but now people increasingly commute or simply move to the cities for work.

Reno-Sparks is within a metropolitan area and Pala is eighteen miles from the city of Escondido. Reno-Sparks and Pala are the most urban communities of their tribes. Both have large, compact, villages. Both are somewhat more impersonal and have less of a sense of community than the more rural reservations, so that in both cases house visits are rare except for relatives and immediate neighbors. Both are ethnically mixed, Reno-Sparks with Paiutes and Washo originally, and Pala with Dieguenos, Cupenos and Luisenos originally. The economic base of each, in addition to welfare aid which is important on every reservation, is such urban employment as construction. Each is the least traditional of its tribe, but they differ markedly in political efficiency. Reno-Sparks has a

young, well educated, locally residing, politically sophisticated government. It is the center of the state-wide tribal association.

Pala is considered to have the most chaotic government among the Luiseno. It is dominated by old women who live in the community and want to disperse tribal funds instead of making material improvements in the community. Rincon is considered to have the best government among the Luiseno and its Business Committee is largely young, residing off-reservation, and oriented to California political pan-Indian organizations such as the Inter-Tribal Council of California and the Ad Hoc Committee on Indian Education in California.

Proximity to cities, in spite of the barriers created by the social segregation of avoidance and ethnic antagonisms and the physical segregation of the reservation itself, has had a major impact on these reservations. Those reservations far from cities have tended to be abandoned as families migrated into cities to work. More families stayed on the reservations from which it was a reasonable distance to commute daily to work. Finally, the more urban reservations tend to increase in population as commuters and people on welfare settle down in a community where the cost of living is low and where many of their relations and friends live.

Generally, the more rural reservations are the most traditional in terms of tribal culture and the more urban reservations are the most politically sophisticated in dealing with modern bureaucratic governments. These correlations hold up best for extreme rural-urban comparisons and the Washo and Luiseno cases are both influenced by urban life more than North American Indian reservations generally. The aboriginal cultural heritage of these people is minimal and their significant past is the last couple generations of reservation life. Required to integrate with the dominant culture, traditional customs of kinship, economic politics and law, etc. were completely reshaped. For surviving cultural remnants we have to point to minor traits among the old people, such as the Washo practice of pointing to places with their lips rather than their fingers and the Luiseno interpretation of hand-shaking as people attempting to acquire supernatural power over each other.

These traditional traits from a tribal heritage are essentially invisible. The surviving visible traits among ethnic minorities are played up for outsiders, such as distinctive foods, arts, and public rituals. Both are innocuous, while the traits that were incompatible with white culture were destroyed generations ago. Among North American Indians today most visible traits are not from the tribal heritage, but come from white pan-Indian, and local reservation cultures. They have been continuously creating a new culture that could handle such realities as their subordination to whites.

Knowledge of the aboriginal language, for example, became useless in solving an individual's defined primary problems of having a good job and a better material life. Young people never learned their tribal language and it gradually approached extinction as the old people died off. Then, having solved such primary problems as a good job, we see a few urbanized Indians reaching back to revitalize their heritage by doing such things as teaching classes on the tribal language.

The functions of reservations have shifted over time. They were created for such functions as a facility for the removal of Indians from lands desired by whites, military containment and protection, a concentration area to facilitate the administration of programs of cultural indoctrination, and as a land base for their own subsistence. These functions have generally disappeared, except the last one of subsistence, which has still markedly declined in importance. The function of the reservation is increasingly limited to residence for the retired, for those on welfare, for the visiting of friends and relatives, and for those who can commute to off-reservation jobs. The recent cultural divergence of different communities of the same tribe arose within this context as tribalism became less important and the urban adaptation to white society became more important.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Those interested in the development of Indian reservations need to take urban proximity more into account in their planning. The differential effects of urban proximity are somewhat extreme for the Washo and Luiseno, but the processes described here are increasingly important as the integration of reservations and cities proceeds in the U.S. and Canada.

For example, inter-tribal councils, tribal councils, and band councils in concert might well develop general land use plans for several scattered plots of reserve land or different parts of large reservations. Thus, rather than the current tendency of trying to make every community economically productive, the plan could include retirement and recreation communities for Indians in the more isolated areas. Then the scarce investment capital that is available could be used for the economic development of those lands with higher potential, including those with the "natural resource" of relatively close urban proximity. Light manufacturing industries would be appropriate in many of these intermediate reservations. Finally, those Indian lands that are close enough for daily commuting to cities might be actively developed as residential communities.

Such large scale community development would be politically difficult to create in most cases, due to the degree of political autonomy of many very small bands. Individuals usually have ownership in Indian land through their band membership and are thus concerned about a small area, at the expense of regional planning. Tribes like the Navajo have been able to carry out extensive planning for a single large reservation while the scattered Washo and Luiseno bands have not been able to coordinate their plans.

However, the relative material poverty of many reservations, the large scale of the current urban migration, the abandonment of reservations, and the assimilation of Indians into the wider society is seen by many Indian leaders as reaching a crisis point so that the desire to materially improve reservation life is very strong and could lead to the political cooperation that is necessary for economic development. I would like to see the evolution of state and

provincial Indian corporations (out of the present inter-tribal councils) empowered to buy Indian land and to develop it for its optimum benefit to the Indians: commuting residential, manufacturing, retirement and recreation, lumbering, mining, etc.

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